

A  
 SHORT VIEW  
 OF THE  
 REIGN  
 OF  
 King Henry III.

SHEWING

The Danger of the *Subjects Arrogancy*: The Methods of *Great Mens* Rise and Fallings: The Wrong the *King* and His *Subjects* suffer from *Evil Counsellors*: The Bitterness of the *Bishops* and *Clergy* in those Distempers of Government: The *Parliament* finding fault with the *King*: The *King's* Averseness from such Dealings: His taking other Courses for *Money*: After this, the *King* reduced to great Straits: The *Parliament* again Convening, take Advantage thereby; but ensues the Mischief of Equal Authority in the Government. The *King* having suffered thus much, when settled was more cautious.

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By Sir R. C. Knight and Baronet.

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OF  
King H E N R Y the Third.

**A**fter the Death of King *John*, *Henry* the Third, being but a Child, ascendeth the Throne; mild and gracious, but easie of Nature; whose Innocency and natural Goodness lead him safe along the various Dangers of his Father's Reign. Happy was he in his Uncle the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Guide of his Infancy; and no less than for Thirty Years after, whilst *De Burgo*, that fast Servant of his Father, against the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of like Gravity and Experience, did manage the Affairs: Few and no other were the Distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all; the Commons greedy of Liberty, and the Nobility of Rule: And but one violent Storm, raised by some old and constant Followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent*; *William de Fortibus*, and others, Men that could only thrive by the Wars, misliking those days of Sloth;

for so they termed that Calm of King *Henry's* Government: And the rather, because the Justice of Quiet Times urged from them, to the lawful Owners, such Lands and Castles as the Fury of War had unjustly given them. For finding in the Uprightness of the King, that Power of Protection should not be made a Wrong-doer, they fell out into that Rebellion, that with it ended their Lives and Competitors; professing, That those their Swords that had set the Crown upon their Sovereign's Head, when neither Majesty nor Law could, should now secure those small Pittances to their Masters, when Majesty or Law would not. Dangerous are too great Benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the Mind only capable of Merit, nothing of Duty. No other Disquiet did the State after this feel, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority. Good and Great Men may secure themselves from Guilt. but not from Envy. The Greatest in Trust of Publick Affairs, are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deem themselves less in Employment than they are in Merit. These Vapours did ever and easily vanish, so long as the Helm was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tied his Actions to the Rule of good Counsel, and not of young, passionate, or single Advice. Thirty years were now passed, and all the old Guides of his Youth dead but *Burgo*: *Burgo*, a Man in whom nothing of Worth was wanting but Moderation; whose Length of Days gave him the advantage of Sole Power; his own Ambition and Age gave him



him Desire and Art to keep out others; which wrought him into the fatal Envy of most; and that increased in the new Title of Earl, and great Office the King then gave him.

Time by this had wrought, as in it self, so in the Affections of others, and of the People, a Revolution: The Affliction of their Fathers forgotten, and the Surfeit of long Peace perchance having let in some Abuses; from hence the Commons (to whom days present seem ever worst) commend the fore gone Ages they never remembered, and condemn the present, though they knew neither the Disease thereof, nor the Remedy.

To these idle and usual Humours fell in some of the young and noble Spirits, warm, and overweaning; who being as truly ignorant as the rest, first, by fulying the Wisdom of the present and greatest Rulers, making each casual Mishap their Errors, seem to decypher every Element in Government; and then by holding certain imaginary and fantastick Forms of Commonwealths, flatter their own Belief and Ability, that they can mold any State to those General Rules, which in particular application will prove idle and gross Absurdities.

Next, confirmed in their own Worth by *Summery* and *Spencer*, they take it as a fit time to work themselves into Action and Imployment; a thing they had long desired, and now (though unwilling to seem so) do sue for. And doubtless the farthest of their aim was yet to become quiet Instruments in serving the State, if they had been  
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then held fit and worthy. But the King taught by the new Earl, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*, and that such Wits (for so they would be stiled) were *novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter, in being Factious, to disorder, than to settle Affairs, either delayed or denyed their Desires; for wise Princes will ever chuse their Instruments, *per negotiis*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meer Election, that are onely theirs, otherwise without Friends or Power.

Amongst this unequal Medly, there were of the Nobility *Richard Marshall* Earl of *Pembrook*, *Glocester* and *Hertford*, Darlings of the Multitude; some for the Merit of their Fathers, whose Memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of Publick Liberty, and Opposers of encroaching Monarchy. At *Runne-Mead* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geoffry*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley*, *Maunsell*, and *Fitz-John*: Spirits of as much acrimony and arrogant Spleen, as the Places from whence they were elected, Camp, Court, or Country, could afford any. These by Force would effect what the others did effect by Cunning; but all impatient to see their Ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earl of *Kent*, they had small hope of their Desires, they made often Meetings, and, as one saith of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut flexum in vesperum die*.

At last *Summery* and *Spencer*, two that were fair in Opinion with the rest, Gentlemen, by Foreign Education and Imployment more qualified than usually Men of these Times, and that set  
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upon their own Deserts the best Places when the Stream should turn, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did unworthily obtain: for he died in Actual Rebellion, *Justiciarius Angliæ*, against his Master) advised, That the best means to remove that great and good Obstacle, the Earl of *Kent*, out of the way of their Advancement, was by sisting and diving into his Actions, and siding with his Opposite *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, (an ill Man, but gracious with the King) making still their Ends, That the Worthiest being driven out by the worst, they shall either be able to mate him with his own Vice, which will be ever more visible as he is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers, as losing him the Hearts of his People, might smoothen them a way to their bad Desires; *Honores quos quieta Reipublica desperant perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur*. Thus Counsel heard, approved, and put in practice, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily ensnared to their Part, by Money, and opinion of increasing Power.

Articles in all haste are forged, and urged against the Earl; as, Sale of Crown-Lands, Wasting of the King's Treasure, and last, that which these doubtful Minds held Capital, his giving allowance to any thing that might breed a Rupture between the Sovereign and his Subjects, as he had done, in making way with the King to annihilate all Patents granted in his Nonage, and inforced the Subject to pay, as the Record saith; *Non juxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Justiciarius aestimabat*. Well, he

he cleared himself of all but the last, and did worthily perish by it: For Acts that fill Princes Coffers, are ever the Ruine of their first Inventors. Bad Times corrupt good Counsels, and make the best Ministers yield to the Lust of Princes: Therefore this King cannot pass blameless, that would so easily blemish all Merits of so good a Servant; for that wherein himself was chief in fault.

But Princes Natures are more variable, and sooner cloyed, than others, more transitory their Favours; and as their Minds are large, so they easily over-look their first Elections, tying their Affections no farther than their own Satisfaction.

The Bishop now alone manageth the State, chuseth his Chief Instrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a Man like himself, displaceth his Natives, and draweth *Poictovins* and *Brittans* into Offices of best Trust and Benefit, and the King into an ill Opinion of his People; For nothing is more against the Nature of the *English*, than to have Strangers to Rule over them. Of this Man's Time *Wendover*, an Author then living, saith, *Judicia committuntur injustis Leges ex legibus, Pax discordantibus Justicia injurijs*.

Thus the Plot of the Tumultuous Barons went clear; and had not the discreeter Bishops calmed all by dutiful Persuasions, and informing the King, That the support of this bold Man's Power, (whose Carriage before had lost his Father *Normandy*, the Love of his People, and in that his Crown) would, by his teaching the Son to reject in passion the just Petitions of his Loyal Subjects, as of late the  
Earl

Earl of *Pembroke*, his Earl-Marshal of *England*, the due of his Office, drive all the State into discontent, by his bad Advice, and corrupt Manners; doubtless the Rebellious Lords had ended this Distemper, as their Design was, in a Civil War.

Denials from Princes must be supplied with gracious Usage, that though they cure not the Sore, yet they may abate the sense of it; but best it is, that all Favours come directly from themselves; Denials, and things of Bitterness, from their Ministers.

Thus are the Strangers all displaced and banished, *Rivallis's* Extortions ransack'd by many strict Commissions of Inquiry: The Bishop sent away disgrac'd, finds now that *Nulla quæ fita scelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes Favours there is no subsistence between the highest of all, and Precipitation.

The Lords still frustrate of their malicious ends, began to sow on these late Grounds of the Peoples Discontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de Principe sermones & quæque alia turbamenta vulgi*, and took it up a Fashion to endear and glorify themselves with the senseless Multitude, by disparaging the King's Discretion and Government; whose Nature too gentle for such insolent Spirits; was forced (as *Trevez* saith) to seek, as he presently did, Advice and Love amongst Strangers, seeing no Desert could purchase it at home; all bore themselves like Tutors and Controulers, few like Subjects and Counsellors. God we see holdeth the Hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Counsellors as the

quality of the Subject meriteth: For *Mountford*, a *Frenchman*, became the next Object of the King's Delight; a Gentleman of choice Blood, Education, and Feature. On this Man's Content the heady Affection of the Sovereign did so much doat, that at his first entrance of Grace, in envy of the Nobility, he made him Earl of *Leicester*; and in no less Offence of the Clergy, by violating the Rites of the Holy Church, gave him his vowed veiled Sister to Wife. More of Art than usually some have deemed this Act of the King's, making the tie of his Dependency the strength of his Assurance, so both at his will.

*Mountford*, made wanton thus with dalliance of his Master, forgetteth Moderation; for, seldom Discretion in Youth attendeth great and sudden Fortune: He draweth all Publick Affairs into his own Hands, all Favours must pass from him, all Preferments by him, all Suits addressed to him; the King but as a Cypher, set to add to this Figure the more of Number. Great is the Sovereign's Errour, when the Hope of Subjects must recognize it self beholden to the Servant, which ought immediately to be acknowledged from the goodness and good Election of himself. Though Princes may take above others some reposeful Friend, with whom they may participate their nearest Passions; yet ought they so to temper the Affairs of their Favour, that they corrupt not the Effects of their Principalities.

At this the great and gravest Men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy, without Honour

or

or Merit, thus to deal alone in that which should pass through their Hands, and to leap over all their Heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices; and therefore run along with the then rising Grace of the King's Half-Brethren (though Strangers), hoping thereby to divide that Power, which otherwise they saw impossible to break.

*Leicester* confident of his Master's Love, and impatient to bear either Rival in Favour or Partner in Rule, opposeth them all; but findeth in his Ebb of Favour the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as easily transfer his Fancy, as he had settled his Affection. Great, we see, must be the Art and Cunning of that Man that keeps himself afloat in the Stream of Sovereign's Favour, since the change of Princes Wills, which for the most part are full of Fancy, and soon fatiated, are hardly arrested. Who so would effect this, must onely attend the Honour and Service of his Master, and, dispoiled of all other Respects, transform himself into his inward Inclination, and work into necessity of Employment; by undergoing the Offices of most Secresie, either of Publick Service, or Princes Pleasures: he must also beat down Competitors of Worth by the Hands of others, conceal his own Greatness in Publick, with a feigned Humility; and what Potency or Government he affecteth, let it rather seem the Work of others, out of conveniency, than any Appetite of his own.

Now were the Reins of Rule, by this advantage, taken by the Rebellious Lords, and put alone



into the Hands of the King's Half-Brethren, *Adam, Guido, Godfrey, and William* himself, as before; *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum usurpans*: For to act his own part, he was ever wyre-drawn, when he had such worthy Servants as would often for his Honour urge it. For these Masters (as *Wallingford* termeth them) *tanta elati jactantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem mellitis & molitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis a ratione tramite declinantes*, do alone what they list. They fill up the Places of Justice and Trust with their Country-men, Strangers; exact of whom, how, and what they please; waste the Treasure, and Crown-Lands, on themselves, and their Followers; set Prices on all Offences, and Rein the Law within the Rule of their own Breasts: the usual Reply of their Servants to the Complaints of the King's Subjects, being, *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus Rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*. These Strangers seemed in their lawless Carriage not to have been invited, but to have entered the State by Conquest: The Great Men they enforced not to obey, but to serve; and the Mean, to live so as they might justly say, they had nothing. Yet lest the King should hear the Groans of his People, and the Wickedness of his Ministers, which good and able Men would tell him, they bar all such Access: Suspicion being the best Preserver of her own Deserts, aimeth at these, who have more of Vertue than themselves; as fearing them most. Thus is the Incapacity of Government in a King, when it falls to be a Prey to  
such



such lawless Minions, the ground of infinite Corruption in all the Members of the State ; all take warrant generally from Princes Weaknesses, of licentious Liberty ; and Great ones make Profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to increase, so to multiply their Gains.

A Famine accompanieth these Corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writs to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos famis media deficientes* : Famine proceeds, *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure possit, provincias perragare* : For all the Villages of the Kingdom were left a Prey to the lawless Multitude ; who *per diversas partes itinerantes velut per Consensum aliorum*, (as the Record saith) did imply, that the Factious Lords suspected by the King, had given some heat to that Commotion : Seditious Peers bringing ever Fewel to such Popular Fires.

Neither was the Church without a busie part in this Tragick Work ; for *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* of *Lincoln*, to whom *Mountford* and his Faction, *præcordialiter adhaerebant*, were far engaged. In such Designs Church-men are never wanting ; and the distaste of the present Government (as well in the Church as in the Commonwealth) will ever be a knot of strength for such unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themselves some other Form of Government than the present in the Church, as in the Temporal State ; as that which with the giddy Multitude winneth best Opinion, and did at this time fiery  
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suit the Peoples Humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their Pomp, their Greediness, and the Pope's Extortions.

A fair Pretext was it to those Factious Bishops, to use their bitter Pens and Speeches so far against Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the Sentence of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at home; for he enjoined the Earl of *Leicester* in *Remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem Ecclesiae Anglicanae numquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this Man could plant, by Liberty or War, when the first Church rose by Fasting and Prayer.

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Sovereign, but to bear with a bad one, and to take up the Burthen of Princes with a bended Kneè, rather in time so to deserve abatement, than resist Authority.

Church-men therefore ought not always to lead us in the Rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our own Duties; in difficult Points of Religion, where an humble Ignorance is a safe and secure Knowledge, we may rely upon them.

To suppress these Troubles, and supply the King's Extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to relieve the King, as they did to quiet the State; their end at that time being onely to open at home the Poverty of their Master, to lessen his Reputation abroad, and to brave out their  
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own Passions freely, while those times of Liberty permit.

Here they began to tell him he had wronged the Publick State, in taking to his Private Election the Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer, that should be onely by the Common-Council of the Realm; commending much the Bishop of *Chichester*, for denying delivery of the Great Seal but in Parliament, where he received it.

They blame him to have bestowed the best Places of Trust and Benefit, in his Gift, on Strangers, and to leave the *English* unrewarded; to have undone the Trade of Merchants, by bringing in *Maltolts* and heavy Customs; and to have hurt the Common Liberty, by *Non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private Favourites.

That he had taken from his Subjects *quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & paculentis Rusticorum enim equos bigas vina victualia ad libitum cepit.*

That his Judges were sent in Circuits, under pretext of Justice, to sleepe the People, *Causis filitiis quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir *Robert de Purflowe* had wrung from the Borderers of his Forest, under pretence of Encroachments or Assarts, great Sums of Money.

And therefore they wonder that he should now demand Relief from his so pilled and polled Commons, who by their former Extremities, & per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur ut nihil aut parum habeant in bonis: And therefore advised him, that since his needless Expence, *postquam Regni cepit esse dilapidatur*, was summed up by them to above

above 800000 *l.* it were fitting to pull from his Favourites, who had gleaned the Treasure of his Kingdom, and shared the old Lands of his Crown, seeing one of them there, whom the Lords described to be *Miles litteratus*, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in short space, from the Inheritance of an Acre, grown to the Possession of an Earldom; and *Mansel*, another inferiour Clerk, that (besides Fifty Promotions with the Cure of Souls) rose to dispend in Annual Revenue 4000 Marks; whereas more moderate Fees would have become a Penman; no better qualified than with the ordinary Fruits of a Writing-School. Yet if a moderate Supply would suit with the King's Occasions, they were content to perform so far Relief in Obedience, as the Desert of his Carriage should merit toward them: And so, as the Record saith, *Dies datur fuit in tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos suos corrigeret & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

At which day, upon new Grant of the Great Charter, admittance to his Council of some Persons elected by the Commons, and promise to rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers, for Advice hereafter, they spare him such a Pittance as must tie him to their Devotion for a new Supply.

Thus Parliaments, that before were ever a Medicine to heal up any Rupture in Princes Fortunes, are now grown worse than the Malady; sith from thence more malignant Humours began to reign in them, than well-composed Tempers.

The King by this experienced of the Intents of his

his Rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasure was the way whereby they intralld his Majesty, begins now to play the Good husband, closeth his Hand of Waste, and resolves himself (too late) to stand alone. Such Experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the Publick Good of a State, when it never learns to do, but by undoing; and never sees Order, but when Disorder shews it. Yet still, alas! such was his flexibility when he came to be pressed by his *French* Minions, that he could not hold his Hand any longer from their vast Desires and endless Waste: So that an Author then living saith, It became a by-word, *Our Inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers*. Followers to a King excessive in Gifts, are excessive in Demands, and cut them not out by Reason, but by Example. Favours past are not accounted; we love no Bounty but what is meerly future: The more that a Prince weakneth himself in giving, the poorer he is of Friends; for such Prodigality in a Sovereign, ever ends in the Rapine and Spoil of his Subjects.

Yet before the King would again submit himself, as he had the last Parliament, to so many brave and strict Inquiries of his disloyal Subjects, he meaneth to pass through all the Shifts that extremity of Need, with greatness of Mind, could lay upon him. He beginneth first with Sale of Lands, and then of Jewels; pawneth *Gascoyne*, and after that, his Imperial Crown: and when he had neither Credit to borrow, (having so often

ailed the Trust he had made) nor Pawns of his own, he then layeth to Pawn the Jewels and Ornaments of St. Edward's Shrine; and in the end, not having means to defray the Diet of his Court, was enforced to break up House, and (as *Paris* saith) with his Queen and Children, *cum Abbatibus & Prioribus satis humiliter Hospitia quæsit & prandia.*

This low Ebb which again the King's Improvidence had brought him to, gave great assurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at last have the Sovereign Power left a Prey to their ambitious Designs; and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more than to see the King's Extremity constrain a Parliament; for at such times Princes are ever less than they should be, Subjects more.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the means, there are sown certain seditious Rumors, That the King's Necessity must repair it self upon the Fortunes and Blessings of his People; That having nothing of his own left, he might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have Means to supply.

This took fire just to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtless had flamed higher, if the King had not asswaged it by Proclamations, wherein he declared *Quod quidam malevoli sinistra prædicantes, illis falso suggesserant illum velle eos indebite gravari, ac jura & libertatos Regni subvertere, & per suggestiones illas dolosas & omnia falsas eorum corda a sua maledictione, & fidel.*

*fidelitate averterent*; but desireth, that *hujusmodi* *animorum suorum perturbationibus ne finem adhiberent*; for that he was ever ready to defend them from the Oppression of the Great Lords, & *omnia jura & consuetudinis, eorum debitas bonas, & consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius observare*; and that they may rest of this secure, *de voluntate sua libera, literas suas fecit patentes.*

But seeing still that Majesty and Right subsist not without Means and Power, and himself had of neither so much as would stop the present Breach in his own Wants, or his Subjects Loyalties, he flieth to the Bosom of his People for Relief and Counsel.

At Oxford they met in Parliament, where his Necessity met so many undutiful Demands, that he was forced to render up to their Rebellious Will his Royal Power.

Here the Commons, knowing that, *quum elegere inceperunt*, they were *loco libertatis*, stood with the King to have the Managing of the State put to the Care of Twenty four, whereof Twelve by their Election (whereto they look strictly) and the other by him, who in all things else was left a Cypher, and in this, whether by fear or remifness, filled up his Number with Mountford, Gloucester, and Spencer; which, besides the weakning of his own Part, won to those his late Opposites an Opinion of great Interest they had got in his Favour: He now hath left neither Election of Publick Office, nor Private Attendants. His Half-Brethren and their Followers he must despoil of



all Fortune, and exile by Prescription under his own Hand, commanding his Writs *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to be directed to the Earls of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to pass either their Money, Arms, or Ornaments, *nisi in forma quam dicti Committes injunxerent*; and after their departure, enjoined the Men of *Bristol*, that they should not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so to behave themselves therein, that as well the King, *quam Magnates sui* eos merito debeant commendare.

Thus we see how easily Mens Estates do change in a moment, and how hard it is to make use of all things ill gotten.

*Richard* Elect of the Empire, the King's full Brother, and then beyond Sea, must be wrought by Letter, as his free Desire, to confirm by Oath those former Restrictions of Regal Power; which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neither the one nor the other to enter *Dover-Castle* (the Key of the Kingdom) which they had furnished, as most of the other Forts of Reputation in the Realm, with Guardians of their own, sworn respectively to the State; and then taking the like Assurance of all Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other Publick Ministers; searching the Behaviour of many by strict Commission upon Oath, to win opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions; whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by displacing the faithful Servants of the King, to open a way to their own Dependants.

Thus



Thus changing Sole Power into the Rule of Many, and those by Popular Election, made the State believe, that by this Form of Limited Politic they had utterly suppressed the Mind of Man for ever dreaming more upon the Imaginary Humours of Licentious Sovereignty: But it fell out nothing so; for now every Man began to estimate his own Worth, and to hammer his Head on every Design that might enlarge his Power and Command.

Then began the Great Men to rent from the Body of the Crown, and Regal Seigniories, all such Royal Suitors as neighboured any of their own Seats, whereto they enforce their Service, and so (as the Record saith) *Ad sectas indebitas, & servitutes intolerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt.* Thus raising mean Mannors to become great Honours, and renting asunder the Regal Justice, they made themselves, of so many Subjects whilst they lived in Duty, *totidem Tyranni* (as the Book of *St. Albans* saith) when they had left their Loyalty; *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni, super subditos Regis servitutes & oppressiones*; which they bore patiently: for excess of Misery having no ease but Custom, made Men willing to lay the Foundation of Servitude by the length of Sufferance, which found no ease or end until the Quiet of this King's Reign.

*Mountford, Gloucester, and Dispencer*, the Heads of this Rebellious Design, having by the late Provisions drawn to the Hands of the Twenty four *Tribunes* of the People the entire Managing of the  
Royal

Royal State, and finding that Power too much dispersed to work the End of their Desires, forced again the King to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the Authority of the Twenty four unto themselves, and create a *Triumvirate*, *non constituenda Reipublicæ causa*, as they first pretended, for their own ends; and so in the Interest of some Private contented, the Publick was staved, but to make a speedier way to one of them, as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*.

Ambition is never so high, but she thinks still to mount; that Station which seemed lately the Top, is but a Step to her now; and what before was Great in desiring, seems little being once in power.

These Three elect Nine Counsellors, and appoint *quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in Curia sint*, to dispose of the Custody of Castles, & *de aliis Regni negotiis*: The Chief Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer, with all Offices, *majores & minores*, they reserve the Choice of to themselves, and bind the King to this hard Bargain upon such strong Security, that he is contented, under the Great Seal and Oath, to lose to them the Knot of Regal Duty, whensoever he assumeth to himself his Regal Dignity; *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos, in surgere & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare at si nobis in nullo teneantur*.

This Prodigy of Fortune, whom she had set as a pittifull Example of her Inconstancy, finding no part of his Sovereignty left but the bare Title, and that at their leave, beggeth Succour from Ur-

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*ban* the Fourth, against his disloyal Subjects. The Pope by his Bull cancellerth his Oath and Contract, and armeth him with Excommunications against all those that return not with speed to their due and former Obedience; since Promises made by Men which cannot say they are at liberty, are weak, and Force hath no power to make just Interest.

The Lords, on the other side, that had impied their Wings with Eagles Feathers, and liked no Game now but what was raked out of the Ashes of Monarchy, made Head against their Sovereign; and, to mate him the better, called in Aid some *French* Forces: Thus the Commonwealth turned again her Sword into her own Bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy to the Funeral of her Liberty; so that it was a wonder she should not at this time pass under a Foreign Servitude. And though these Men were more truly sensible of their own Disgrace, than of others Misery; yet found they no better pretext for Private Interest, than that of the Publick: And therefore, at the entry of this War, they cried *Liberty*; although, when they came near to an end, they never speak word of it.

At *Lewes* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a Reconciliation, but in vain; for Persuasions are ever unprofitable, when Justice is Inferiour to Force. The Sword decides the Difference, and gave the two Kings, and their eldest Sons, Prisoners.

The Person now, as well as the Regal Power,  
thus

thus in the Hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neither Bond of Security, nor Expectation of Liberty, but what the emulous Competition of Greatness (which now began to break out between these mighty Rivals) gave hope of; for *Leicester*, meaning by ingrossing from his Partner to himself the Person of the King, and to his Followers the best Portion of the Spoil, to draw more Fruit from this Advantage than it should in Fellowship yield, dissolved the Knot of all their Amity.

Thus equal Authority, with the same Power, is ever fatal (we see) to all great Actions: For, to fit Minds to so even a temper, that they should not have some motions of dissenting, is impossible.

*Mountford* having thus broken all Faith with his Confederates, and Duty to his Sovereign, left the path of Moderation and Wisdom, to come to the King by that of Pride and Distrust. To him he telleth, That his Arms and Ends had no other Object ever but Order of the State, and Ease of the People; That he did not in this carry Affection against Duty, but well knew how to rein his Desires to his just Power, and so no less to his Majesty's content, if he would be ruled; which was to command the Forts and Castles of his now Opposite *Glocester*, and the rest, into his Hands.

It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his Inferiour: but Necessity in Sovereign Affairs doth often force away all Formality; and therefore this poor Prince, who now at the Victor's discretion, seemed to have been onely raised to shew the Inconstancy of Fortune, and Vanity of Man,

Man, suited himself with incomparable Wisdom, according to the Necessity of the Time. Neither did Humility wrong Majesty, when there was no other Means to contain Spirits so insolent, but Dissembling. He therefore summoneth in his own Person the Forts of his fastest Friends, to yield to his greatest Enemies. This he enters in shew as his Lodging, but in effect his Prison, and saw himself forced to arm against his Friends, and to receive now Law from him to whom he lately thought to give it.

Thus *Leicester* is become a Darling of the Common Rout, who easily change to every new Master; but the Best durst not sail along his Fortune by the Light of his Glory. Crystal that fairly glistereth doth easily break; and as the Ascent of usurping Royalty is slippery, so the Top is shaking, and the Fall fearful. To hold this Man then at the entry of his false Felicity fully happy, was but to give the Name of the Image to the Metal that was not yet molten: For by this the imprisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assured of *Glocester*, by the knot of his great Mind, and Discontent; and both with the torn Remainder of the Loyal Army united, and by speedy March arrived unlooked for, near *Evesham*, to the unarmed Troops of the future Rebels, whom they instantly assailed; for it was no fit season to give time, when no time did assure so much as expedition did promise.

*Dispenzer*, and other Lords of that Faction, made towards the King, with the best speed, for

Mercy ; but could not break out, being hurried along the Storm of the giddy Multitude.

Publick Motions depend on the Conduct of Fortune ; Private, on our own Carriage. We must beware of running down steep Hills with weighty Bodies ; they once in motion, *suo feruntur pondere*, stops are not then voluntary. But *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the Storm, might have escaped, if his Courage and Hope had not made him more resolute by Misfortune, so that he could neither forsake his Followers, nor his Ambition ; thus making Adversity the exercise of his Vertue, he came, and fell.

The King by the Blessed Fortune freed and obeyed, began to search the Ground of his former Misery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had so long settled and maintained under his Ancestors the Glory of his Empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her Enemies, to her almost Ruine, as if the *Genius* of the State had quite forsook her. Here he finds his wasteful Hand had been too quick both over the Fortunes and the Blessings of his People ; the griping Avarice of his Civil Ministers, and lawless Liberty of his Martial Followers ; the neglect of Grace, and breach of his Word, to have lost his Nobility at home : and Necessity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandise of Peace and War, as his last Refuge ; so leaving his old Allies, became enforced to betake himself to Persons doubtful, or injured ; and that by giving over himself to a sensual Security, and referring all to base, greedy, and unworthy

unworthy Ministers, whose Counsels were ever more subtle than substantial, he had thrown down those Pillars of Sovereignty and safety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

He now therefore making Sweetness and Clemency the Entrances of his regained Rule ; for the Faults of most of the late Rebels he forgot : A gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of Offences. Others he forgot, that they might live but to the glory of his Goodness ; for the fewer killed, the more remains to adorn the Trophy.

Tyrants shed Blood for Pleasure, Kings for Necessity : yet lest his Justice and Power might too much suffer in his Grace and Mercy, some few he punished by small Fines, some by Banishment ; as the two guiltless, yet unpitied Sons of the Arch-Traytor. Treason so hateful is to the Head, that it draweth (we see in this) the Carriage of the innocent Children into an everlasting suspect ; and what is Suspicion in others, is Guilt in them. Upon the constant Followers of his broken Fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary Hand than before, the Forfeiture of his Enemies. Immoderate Liberality he had found but a weak means to win Love ; for it lost more in the gathering, than it gained in the giving. This Bounty, bestowed without Respect, was taken without Grace, discredited the Receiver, and detracted from the Judgment of the Giver, and blunted the Appetites of such as carried their Hopes out of Virtue and Service. Thus at last he learned, that Re-



ward and Reprehension justly laid, do balance Government; and that it much importeth a Prince, the Hand to be equal that holdeth the Scale.

In himself he reformed his Natural Errors. Princes Manners, though a mute Law, have more of life and vigour than those of Letters: And though he did sometimes touch upon the verge of Vice, he forbore ever after to enter the Circle.

His Court, wherein at this time the Faults of Great Men did not onely by approbation but imitation receive true Comfort and Authority, (for their Crimes now became Examples and Customs) he purged very judiciously and severely; since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular Condition of the Common State.

Expence of House he measureth by the just Rule of his proper Revenue, and was heard often to say, That his Excess of Waste before had been an Issue of his Subjects Blood. The Insolency of his Soldiers, made lawless by the late Liberties of Civil Arms, he spendeth in Foreign Expeditions; having seen, that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were satisfied but in the Misery of Innocents, and would, if they had no Enemies abroad, seek out at home, as they had done before.

The Rigour and Corruption of his Judicial Officers he examineth, and redresseth, by strict Commission: For the sense of their Severity, became a murmur of his own Cruelty.

The Seats of Judgment and Council he filled up



up with Men Nobly born : for such attract, with  
 less offence, the generous Spirits to Respect and  
 Reverence. Their Abilities he measureth not by  
 Favour, or private Information, as before ; but by  
 publick Voice: For every Man in particular may  
 deceive, and be deceived ; but no Man can deceive  
 all, nor all one.

And to discover now his own Capacity, and  
 what Part he meaneth to bear hereafter in all de-  
 liberate Expeditions, he sitteth himself in Coun-  
 cil daily, and disposeth Affairs of most weight in  
 his own Person: For Counsellors, be they never  
 so wise or worthy, are but as Accessories, not  
 Principals, in sustentation of the State ; their Of-  
 fice must be Subjection, not Fellowship, in Consi-  
 derations of moment ; and to have Ability to Ad-  
 vise, not Authority to Resolve.

For, as to live, the Prince must have a particu-  
 lar Soul ; so to rule, his proper and intern Coun-  
 cil : Without the one, he can never be truly Man ;  
 without the other, he shall never be securely a  
 Prince. For it offendeth as well the Minister (of  
 merit) as the People, to force Obedience to one  
 incapable of his own Greatness, or unworthy of  
 his Fortunes.

This wonderful Change to the general State (so  
 hopeless lately to recover her former Liberty,  
 they sought now for nothing but the mildest Ser-  
 vitude) brought them home again with admirati-  
 on to his devotion, and their own Duty.

He that will lay (we see) the Foundation of  
 Greatness upon Popular Love, must give them  
 Ease

Ease and Justice : for they always measure the Bond of their Obedience by the Good which they receive.

This Peace attended ever after his Age and Hearse, and he happily lived to fashion his Son and Successor, and to make him Partner of his own Experience and Authority ; whose own hard Education training him from that Intemperance which makes Men inferiour to Beasts, framed him to affect Glory and Vertue, which made him superiour to Men. So that all the Actions of his future Reign were exact Grounds of Discipline and Policie, for his best Successor to Rule by after ; who, as he was the First of his Name since the Conquest, so was he the First that settled the Law and State, deserving the Style of *Englands Justinian*, and freed this Kingdom from the Wardship of the Peers ; shewing himself, in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realm onely, but the whole World.

Thus do the Wrongs of our Enemies, more than our own Discretions, make us sometimes both Wise and Fortunate.

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